

THE LABOUR ORGANISER

No. 6

FEBRUARY, 1921

Price 4d.

IS LABOUR IN A DILEMMA?

The Unemployment Conferences and a Way Out

By THE EDITOR

The Labour Movement is at the moment in a woeful state of uncertainty about the best course to be taken to compel the Government to act upon the unemployment recommendations of the joint Labour Conferences. What next? What shall we do in a month's time? These were the questions on all lips as the great conference broke up at Kingsway Hall on January 27. There is an uneasy feeling that Labour is caught on the horns of a dilemma; that it must either go forward or stand condemned; that to go forward means "direct action"—a strike of the workless—with the prospect of a divided front and a shameful and ludicrous failure; and that the only alternative is the safer and easier one of more resolutions, or, as it is expressed, just "words, words, words." The picture drawn is of the Labour Movement standing in its relationship to Unemployment like a masterly Micawber waiting for something to turn up that will save its face or prevent its cold feet.

Another school comes forward with a suggestion for a two-days' down-tools policy, though nothing is said as to what it will effect.

Is the Labour Movement after all so barren of idea? Is there not another course? The question of unemployment is admittedly a political question. So also is the Irish question, and the Russian question, too. Then the clear course before the next conference is to determine to re-double its political effort to turn the Government out. Not by words and speeches or resolution—you may hurl those at Downing Street till the new boardings fall in—but by definite action, *direct action* by the Unions in the constituencies.

Let me be quite plain. I do not mean the lip service which conferences always give to this subject. At the special Trade Union Congress in March last year direct action was decisively rejected (by 3,870,000 votes to 1,050,000) in favour of "political action in the form of intensive political propaganda in preparation for a General Election." Has that materialised? Have the walls of Jericho fallen before the promised hurricane of wind? I rather guess Lloyd George can sum up a Labour Conference resolution very tidily by this, and he wouldn't be much incommoded by that one.

Since that date I have repeatedly asked Trade Union officials whom I know whether their Union has put what I once thought was the spirit of that resolution into effect. Have there been more candidates? Increased political contributions? Extra efficiency in the constituencies? Has that intensive propaganda resulted in more members paying the political levy? Need I write here the dismal answer?

But the Great Conference of February 24 must not slide out of its obligations by a similar resolution. Shall it be said that officials go on mouthing political action as a creed, endorsing unctuous resolves, while nearly forty per cent. of the members of Trades Unions pay no political levy, and no real forward effort is decided upon to ginger up the constituencies politically?

What would happen if the conference, resolved to ask each of its constituent bodies to at once examine and report upon its political efforts, and recommended all bodies to at once increase their efforts in the constituencies, and

(Continued on page 5, column 1.)

OUT OF THE RUT

ACTIVITIES AND IDEAS IN BRIEF

The top of the column is this month deservedly held by Blackburn. Once again the idea and the activity in brief is—money. Two balls were recently held on Christmas and New Year's Eve respectively, and these realised £130. Heartiest congratulations. Evidently there is here a happy combination of ideals, brains, and business. Can any district beat this?

Apropos of our article last month advocating the imitation typewritten letter for calling country meetings, we reproduce below a method adopted by the South Hants Party. A standardised printed form is used to send through the post. This the agent (Mr. Wilkinson) says is not so good as the personal letter, but where the agent or secretary has no duplicator it has the advantage that the particulars of meeting place can be filled in by hand with a toy printing set, or, for a series, can be easily run off by the printer.

SOUTH HANTS LABOUR PARTY

Dear Sir or Madam,

Lieut.-Col. C. H. HOARE, D.S.O.,
the Prospective Labour Candidate for
this constituency, will address a Meet-
ing to be held under the auspices of
the above at

Bulson's Hall,

*Lee-on-the-Solent, on Monday
next, July 19th, at 7.45 p.m.*

All men and women interested in public affairs, whether on the Parliamentary Register or not, are cordially invited to attend.

Questions (written or verbal) will be welcomed.

Yours faithfully,
The Divisional Committee

One of the most elaborate systems of training local election workers we have seen is that which has been in operation some time in Nottingham, conducted by the Central Labour Agent, Mr. W. S. Rainbird, of Corbyn Chambers, Market Place. An exhaustive and most informative series of memoranda has been prepared for the use of the classes held, and each stage

or detail of the system adopted is explained. The ward organisation in Nottingham would be hard to beat in any divided borough—and it has recently had a unique test—and the plan of interesting the workers in organisation and training them in scientific methods is telling. Indeed, it is a part of every agent's duty to train workers in his locality and we could wish this was more fully realised. In Mr. Rainbird's system there is much that requires at least a proportion of highly trained workers, and this is necessary over so great an area. The single constituency agent or secretary has a simpler task, but still a necessity for a band of well-attuned workers, in addition to the multitude of others, none of whom should be permitted to remain novices.

We wish particularly to draw the attention of secretaries and agents to the splendid service of the I.L.P. Information Committee through its "Weekly Notes for Speakers." Frankly we would not care to be without the budget of well marshalled facts and figures sent down each week in return for a small annual subscription. If speakers can do without facts (and some do, they simply orate—not, of course, Labour speakers), certainly the organisers cannot. A leaflet wrongly issued may do irreparable harm, where a speech is forgotten, and to the men who conduct campaigns these notes are full of suggestion and authority. And they are not coloured either—they are just facts. We advise you to get the service.

Below we reproduce a recent election poster. But it is reproduced not solely for commendation, although its application is very startling and the psychological and pulling effect should be good. But as an experiment cover a card over all the rest of the paper save the portion beginning, "You cannot" down to "Dene Ward." We think the bill would have been vastly improved if the humdrum orthodoxy of all the rest had been cut out. As a reminder, let us say that this sort of stunt should never be used except when there is a reasonable chance. To use it on a forlorn hope is to court ridicule and more disaster. We are very thankful to the author for the opportunity of reviewing an otherwise smart piece of

work, and hope he will agree with us as to the improvement indicated.

MUNICIPAL BYE-ELECTION DENE WARD

**Thursday, 16th September
1920**

You cannot do without Railways, which have to carry the produce of the Country. Consider then if you can do without a Railwayman such as

ADAM HILLS

Let him carry YOUR mandate to the City Council, and this appeal

IS

made to every Worker, by hand or brain, to take his or her share in

WINNING

this seat so that YOUR views may be voiced in the City Council. "Newcastle expects that every man (what about Women?) this day will do his duty," in the

DENE WARD

VOTE for HILLS

There was something very warming about an announcement which reached us of a Christmas Bazaar at Lewisham. There were to be stalls with season's goods, refreshments, competitions, games, songs, Christmas tree, bran tub, and *Christmas hampers*. Will Lewisham friends do please write and say how it all went off? and why they missed out Daddy Christmas? There ought to be more of these sort of things, and there are never happier moments lived than among the youngsters at such functions. One mem. though. The handbill used con-

tained an advertisement of the printers on the back. Both announcement and advertisement were set "upright" and to the same "measure," the effect being that one tended as always to neutralise the effect of the other. The person turning over the handbill doesn't get the full "hit" of whichever announcement he reads second. In this case we would have reduced the printer's advertisement considerably and set it in a panel of narrower "measure." We think the dissimilarity would have helped both announcements, though it is always difficult to combine two notices to good effect.

Dudley is well in the movement for modernised and better printing. The registration period has called forth a smart leaflet on slate-coloured paper, which is intended to be delivered folded, the visible part of the fold bearing an application form for membership. The "What will I do?" card is also being used in Dudley and is thoughtfully provided with an application form for membership on the back. Thus a person may join and indicate what they can do on one and the same form. The agent is Mr. J. Price, J.P., 202 High Street.

Lichfield Labour Party has launched a special campaign for 1,000 new individual members. An attractive little booklet has been issued by Mr. Wright for the use of the workers, consisting of ten forms in duplicate, for the enrolment of members. Carbon paper is used and the top copy torn out and handed to the member. There is a variation of practice here worth mentioning. Mr. Wright uses a *thick* top sheet (to be torn off) and a *thin* bottom sheet. Secretaries copying this plan would be better advised to reverse the order or use *both thin* sheets. If the pen were used with above book the carbon copy would could not come out because of the thickness of the top sheet, while if pencil is used to get a good impression there is a decidedly bad effect on the person to whom the receipt is handed. A carbon copy is less objected to.

The limitation of the book to ten forms only has its points. Many persons would endeavour to fill a book of ten who would despair at a larger number. And a new book can always be obtained.

OUR POSTER COMPETITION

Our March issue will contain full particulars of the awards in the "Labour Organiser" Poster Competition. A satisfactory series of entries have been received in most classes, and the collection of designs which the adjudicators will go through discloses the existence of considerable talent awaiting to be made use of. The reproduction of approved attempts will be considered immediately after the awards are made.

LOCAL LABOUR NEWSPAPERS

A Conference being Arranged

We are happy to say that the proposal made in the LABOUR ORGANISER that a conference should be held of all interested in the working and promotion of Labour Local Newspapers has been most favourably received in all quarters. Various suggestions have been made as to ways and means of bringing about this desirable meeting, and from a consensus of opinion obtained, the most favoured plan would be that the LABOUR ORGANISER, as an independent authority, should take the responsibility of issuing the circulars and arranging for the conference, the latter body when assembled deciding, of course, upon its own line of conduct and business.

Steps are now being taken in the direction indicated, and we hope before our next issue to have officially communicated with all interested. May we however request that any who have not been in direct touch with this movement should at once communicate their names? The success of anything done must depend upon the representative character of the conference, and we earnestly appeal for all information that may be of assistance in this direction.

Since our last issue we have received news of several fresh projects for local papers. Our correspondence reveals how sadly is needed some authoritative guidance and co-operative effort.

The New Times, promoted by the County Labour Press Society, Ltd. (Essex), and printed by the National

Labour Press, is a bright and effective monthly (soon, we hope, to be weekly) of which No. 1 has just been issued. The company has for his objects also the establishment of a bookshop and printing press, and we wish Mr. P. F. Pollard, the secretary (and editor of *The New Times*), success in an excellent venture.

No. 1 of *The Worker*, the organ of the Shoreditch and Bethnal Green Districts, is to hand. Here again we have a movement striving to supply a pressing need and, as the letter below shows, yearning for some practical assistance in directing their enthusiasm into right channels.

Yet another No. 1—*The East End Pioneer*, published by the Limehouse and Mile End Labour Parties. Mr. J. Beckett, Labour agent, is the editor. We think an improvement in get-up could be made on the front page, which however contains much interesting matter. We note that over £600 has been secured by the Limehouse Labour Rent Bureau in actual repayments of overpaid rents; that ought, if gratitude counts for anything, to help sell the *Pioneer*.

Without necessarily endorsing all or any of the suggestions made we print below a characteristic letter received from the editor of a local Labour journal (Mr. A. B. Elsbury, of the *Shoreditch Worker*). There is little need to hammer home our case in face of letters such as these, which go to prove the urgency of something being done to help those local editors whose work might easily accomplish wonders for the Party:—

Your article on the need for a Labour Press Association prompts me to present my views.

My idea of the functions of such an Association is as follows:—

To issue from its offices sufficient matter of all kinds. It would be a mistake to limit the copy sent out to that possessing merely Labour interest. It is just on this side that I find the least difficulty in procuring my needs. It is when it comes to the lighter side of copy concerning sport, fiction, a woman's page and domestic matters generally that the "dead seriousness" usually charged against our local journals becomes justified.

It may be said that there are at present agencies which supply these last, but our trouble is that they do not possess the "leaven" of labour interest without which their contrast to the remainder of the journal's pages would become too marked.

The Association should provide hints on the "make-up," gathered from the ripest experience possible. Our poor editor has to wade through the alphabet of paper production as best he can when a few expert criticisms at the commencement may mean the difference between a useful success and disheartening failure.

The collection of advertisements is, of course, a question of vital importance. The Association by collecting the important ones from one base should by this means be able for the most part to finance itself by means of a royalty or commission. Whatever this commission might be it is undoubted that the insertion of the "national" advertisements would go a long way towards inspiring the confidence of local advertisers and so would always be well "worth while."

The preparation and exchange of cartoons, photographs, and incidental illustrations should be one of the very useful functions of the Association.

By arrangements with printers inner pages of a uniform size could be prepared in their entirety for immediate use.

(Continued from page 1.)

to take further ballots of their members for increased powers and finance if necessary? Set that movement going and I'll guarantee the Prime Minister pricks up his ears. He well knows the difference between a storm of wind and the making of bricks. We may even get something done immediately.

It is well known that unions are not pulling their weight in the constituencies. Trade Union officials say they cannot do more, that the time isn't ripe, &c. But get this wave going, a national Trade Union challenge to Lloyd George in effective terms, as an alternative to a strike of workless people, and despite the times those resolutions would come through.

If, however, Labour is for ever reaching for the big stick, and neglecting its muscles, it musn't grumble at its surprises.

LAW AND PRACTICE

[Under this heading we propose to print brief and chatty explanations of points of commoner interest concerning the Law and Practice of Elections. Readers are invited to suggest points for notice herein, but are reminded that suggestions made may not necessarily be dealt with in the next issue.—Ed.]

Supplying Party Colours—Music at Meetings

By THE EDITOR

The following is a fair sample of the queries that arise respecting the state of the law on the above subjects. It is an actual question recently received: "What happens when the Tory candidate's wife, unknowingly as we believe to her husband, sends privately through the post to a large number of women electors some yards each of ribbon in her husband's party colours?"

To our friend who asks this question I might answer with a like naïveté, "It all depends!" A statement of the law concerning the supply of ribbons, &c., will help. In the case mentioned it is just conceivable that the useful hair-ribbon so generously supplied might be held to be a bribe. The contention would be far-fetched, but there is an Act of Parliament far anterior to the Corrupt Practices Act, 1883, which governs this question, and is not sufficiently known. By 17 and 18 Victoria, C 102, Section 7, "No candidate, before, during, or after any election, shall in regard to such election, by himself or agent, directly or indirectly, give or provide to or for any person having a vote at such election, or to or for any inhabitant of the county, city, or borough, or place for which such election is had, any cockade, ribbon, or other mark of distinction; and every person so giving or providing shall for every such offence forfeit the sum of two pounds to such person as shall sue for the same, together with full costs of suit." If our friend therefore wishes to get busy he should multiply the number of offences he can prove by two, the sum resulting being the number of pounds sterling he *might* receive for his information. It should be noted that the giving of ribbons or marks of distinction does not affect the validity of an election, though a penalty is incurred.

Now the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883, created a further offence in reference to the above, though in the case of the instance put it would be very difficult to prove. "No payment, or contract for payment, shall for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate at any election be made on account of bands of music, torches, flags, banners, cockades, ribbons, or other marks of distinction—either before, during, or after an election . . ." This offence by whoever committed is an illegal payment (penalty £100), but if committed by candidate or agent is an illegal practice (penalty £100 plus five years incapacity), and in the latter case may unseat an elected member.

Certain text-books have held that the above offence is not complete unless the election has commenced, and quote a decision of Mr. Justice Day in support. I cannot advise Labour agents to accept this. The section clearly prohibits the payment "before . . . an election" for "the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate." In my opinion one cannot get in any expense for the latter purpose "before an election," because it is mostly the very act of incurring expense which starts the election. (See previous articles.) The person who went deliberately to buy ribbons, &c., before an election, in the hope of stocking them for the election, and eventually only incurring the older risk and penalty, would, in my opinion, not only be disappointed, but would conceivably incur the penalty for a payment made other than through the agent; or if it was the agent he would run the risk of an "incomplete return" in addition to the other troubles.

On the other hand it should be noted that the use of ribbon, &c., is not forbidden. Probably, if they were the enactment would share the same fate as the Lord's Day Observance Act; in any case, electioneers who know their business will seek by all legitimate means to get colours worn.

Nor is there anything whatever to prevent a party spending what it likes in colours, &c., provided it is done independently of an election. The party can stock all the colours it wants, and its members may use them in normal times. But they must not be given away at an election.

A further question was, "Are the badges usually given to stewards at political meetings 'marks of distinction' within the Act?" In this case I think much would depend on custom and circumstances. It would, in my opinion, be certainly illegal to pay for badges of any kind (or at any rate anything that could be so described) which the stewards would receive and take away. The risk is hardly lessened if the steward returns them, for the payment is hard to explain and classify. The matter is simplified where a local party possesses a large stock of stewards' badges and uses them at all its meetings and is in the habit of having them returned. I think this special use and established custom would be a sufficient answer to any charge of "providing marks of distinction." It would be distinctly contentious as to whether they were marks of distinction within the Act or "provided" within the Act, and if this procedure were followed in any case the seat could not be endangered.

Another recent question has been, "An organ is attached to our Town Hall. May we use this at our political meetings and in connection with the candidature?" Again, it all depends. If you will read the two sections of Acts which I have quoted above you will notice a singular distinction. You are forbidden by the second Act to *make any payment* for "bands of music, torches, flags, banners, cockades, ribbons, or other marks of distinction." By the first Act you are forbidden to *give or provide* any "cockade, ribbon, or other mark of distinction." There is no prohibition against *supplying* music, or even torches and flags, provided the latter are not "marks of distinction," which they mostly would be. But there is that provision against payment. The law as it stands is that you may provide music but you mustn't pay for it; nor must anyone else pay for it. Applying the law to the question, the answer is that if the organ is free, and is not a separate cost, you may certainly use it. If the organ is charged extra the question arises as to whether the organ is a "band of music" or alternatively as to whether the organ is a legitimate "expense of meeting." This point has never been satisfactorily cleared up and the "safety-first" course is not to hire it.

**Widespread Unemploy'm't
Terrible Sufferings
of Thousands of British
Women and Children.
Anarchy, Bloodshed and
Terrorism in Ireland.
Coalition Government's
Failure—Labour has the
remedy—Labour claims
that it can "deliver the
goods."**

**YOU ARE CORDIALLY
INVITED TO COME &
HEAR THE GREAT
WELSH LABOR LEADER:**

**MR. JAMES
WINSTONE**

J.P., C.C., Agent South Wales Miners' Federation

**SHEPHERDS' HALL
MIDDLETON
SUNDAY NEXT
JANUARY 16TH
AT THREE P.M.**

Above we reproduce, slightly altered in proportions to suit our columns, a striking handbill recently issued by one of our contributors, Mr. H. Stephens, of King's Lynn. The actual production was in black ink on an orange cover paper (Spicer's "Venezia"). The cost per 1,000 would be much above that of an ordinary handbill, but there is a great gain in effectiveness and an actual economy in use that would bring the cost down to that of a more trashy production.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE LABOUR PARTY

By THE EDITOR

Part II.—The Local Constitutions

[Note.—At the special request of several readers we have held over Part I. of this series of articles, dealing with the National Constitution of the Party, in order that more urgent questions concerning Local Constitutions may receive attention. If this article does not itself attack the detailed problems involved, it is largely because it is introductory, and inserted as a necessary link between a detailed discussion of both subjects.]

In dealing with the National Constitution in previous chapters we have noted the earlier conception of the Party as a federation of dissimilar forces for similar ends, and have traced its growth to a body of more homogeneous parts. We have seen the disappearance of separate Socialist representation, not without a fight, but in the end acquiesced in and perhaps recognised as making ultimately for the strengthening of that force; and we have seen the gradual extinction in representation of the purely industrial Trades Council. We recognised besides a growing respect for the Party decisions, and a tendency also to demand that the Party should speak with one voice. From these things we draw the moral that there was a greater cohesiveness to-day than ever, and that conference spoke, if it didn't always vote, with a greater recognition of solidarity and a franker admission of even the weakest elements into its councils.

One of the most striking differences between the National and Local Constitution of the Party is the fact that alongside of the sweeping away of sectional barriers nationally, and of the movement we have indicated above, there was the definite establishment of sectional representation embodied in the new local constitution. This at first sight would seem to be a retrograde step, but in reality it is the provision of a safeguard of extreme value in the present stage of the Party's growth. We have previously noted that the Party constitution is nowhere a final and last word regarding its own structure; that it will adapt itself to circumstances as it grows; and that in respect to local Parties there is not even rigidity in all matters from con-

ference to conference, but dispensations on detail may be given by executive action.

Now there are places where the growing cohesiveness we noted nationally has been kept pace with locally or even excelled; or perhaps where the forces are balanced sufficiently to avoid the crushing of either one or the other. And such places might be ripe for the abolition of sectionalism on their committees. But in the vast majority of constituencies this is not the case in the earlier stages. The forces which comprise the Party are not evenly distributed in the constituencies. If there were no provision for the representation of each influence, we might readily find the local machinery captured entirely by this or that section in its early days and consciously or unconsciously perverted to its own ends. I have seen this done in provisional parties, and observed cases where the Socialists, the Trade Unionists, the Co-operators, and the individual members have every one of them accomplished the same thing in different districts. What could be more destructive to the progress of a local Party than that the first group who gained control should go sublimely on, with rules and representation of their own making, appreciating their own importance, but unconscious of that of all others? Or what could be more productive of a final unity than an insistence from national quarters that all sections and interests should take a proportionate share in the work and responsibilities?

Now although the local constitutions of the Party provide for the representation of the sections, no attempt has anywhere been made to lay down what the proportions shall be in the elections to the Executive body of the local party

(and not in all cases to the General Committee). The composition and relative strength of the various movements vary widely in different localities; a hard and fast rule could not work universally well, and so is left alone. Instead the local Party decides on its own method of allotting seats on its E.C. to the sections, and its proposals are submitted to the national Party for approval.

Here we get another important principle embodied in several places in the model local constitution of the Party. A local Party controlled by one section or other, might in all good faith, not recognising the latent possibilities of other sections of the Party in its area, propose to reconstruct one of the rules referred to it for completion in such a manner as to be prejudicial to the interests of the bodies coming in later and who might have little power to alter it. These rules are to be found in Set A Rules 4 (b), 6 (b); Set B Rule 3 (e), Rule 5 (b); Set C Rule 5 (b); Set D Rule 5 (2b), Rule 7 (4), Rule 10 (2); Set E Rule 5 (2b), Rule 6 (3), Rule 7 (3). The reference to the National E.C. here provided provides a healthy check and a contact with the experiences of other districts, and tends to cancel out one-sidedness in the interests of the movement as a whole.

The same principle is again applied in several of the rules where ward difficulties arise. Here again the problem is to be discussed with, or referred to, the Borough Party or the Divisional Party as the case may be, in order that a larger outlook and a wider experience may be brought into play. It is also applied in the selection of municipal candidates.

(To be continued.)

ADVERTISEMENT RATES

¶ Advertisement Rates in the LABOUR ORGANISER will be sent on application to the EDITOR, H. DRINKWATER, Whittington, near Worcester.

¶ Sole London Advertisement Agent, Mr. F. J. HUBBARD, 57 Upper Grange Road, Bermondsey, S.E. 1

WANTED! Capable Advertisement Agent required for Manchester and Northern areas. Every facility given. Applicant must have knowledge of advertising business, and be a member of the Labour movement. There is business to be done. We want the right man for the job. Apply, the Editor.

Efficiency!

The call for more Efficiency in every administration is greater to-day than ever before.

**DO NOT LOOK UPON THE ADOPTION OF THE
CARD SYSTEM, VERTICAL FILING, AND
LOOSE LEAF SYSTEMS AS AN EXPERIMENT.**

Trade Union Offices in many parts of the Country have adopted up-to-date methods.

Write for particulars of

**MEMBERSHIP RECORDS, TRADE UNION
REGISTERS, LISTS OF CONSTITUENTS,
VERTICAL FILING FOR CORRESPONDENCE,
LOOSE LEAF SYSTEMS FOR
REGISTRATION CANVASS.**

BOOTS Systems Department

Sales Offices:

LONDON: 82-83 High Holborn. *Telephone:* HOLBORN 2138
BIRMINGHAM: Corner of Colmore Row and Bull Street.

Telephone: CENTRAL 5322

MANCHESTER: 39 Market Street. *Telephone:* CITY 5502

NOTTINGHAM: 16-18 Goose Gate. *Telephone:* 1578

Head Offices and Works: Station Street, NOTTINGHAM.

Telephone: 3160

THE TELEPHONES

Are our Labour publicists who have taken up the cudgels on behalf of the Postmaster-General doing the wisest thing? Labour policy demands nationalisation, but to defend the inefficient conduct of a publicly owned enterprise, merely because it is publicly owned, won't cut much ice. No national service is yet run on principles in accord with Labour ideas of nationalisation. Why then take on their defence when they so obviously are at fault?

It is undeniable that the telephone system has not been conducted with sufficient enterprise. Why should Labour men be trying to condone this, and juggling with figures to prove that the position is not so bad as somewhere else? If Labour men are to take sides in the squabble at all they should surely be on the side which demands greater efficiency, and full consideration before a high handed and unjustifiable increase is put on behind the back of Parliament. Cheap sneers at the squeals of business men over rising prices land us nowhere. The increases will be passed on, and it is the sheerest twaddle to pretend that after all it makes no difference because the Government can spend the extra money they extract just as well as the telephone user. This yarn may be all right for simpletons, but what about the efficiency which could largely avoid a rise at all? *Inefficiency in any public enterprise is a danger to the Party's policy, and ought to be attacked. It results further in a national economic loss which it should be the duty of the Party to endeavour to prevent.*

A SAMPLE "PERSONAL-DUPLICATED" LETTER

For Country Districts

Below we give a further example of a telling type of semi-personal letter for use, duplicated, in country districts. The writer here has had a difficult subject. There is little "pull" about the Irish question in the country areas, and he has had to explain and slightly enlarge before he can pull. The letter winds up on a typical country note, though more applicable to a village than a scattered area, and a chord is struck quite unconsciously in the

reader that betrays in the writer an appreciation of the social voids known to country dwellers. A slightly altered letter would, of course, be sent to male voters. The example is given not for copying but as illustration of manner and tone.

Dear Madam,

I suppose you will have read a lot in the papers recently about Ireland and will have wondered what on earth is happening over there.

One thing seems clear, and that is, that life is cheap and hardly a day passes but that a British mother or an Irish mother is the poorer for her son, and that widows and orphans multiply as fast as in war.

What is your opinion about it all? It is very difficult to get the truth. The papers hardly ever give us that on anything, and about these murders they probably cannot tell much, because of what is forbidden, and because of what they are afraid.

There is, however, a chance coming for Turnipfield people to know a little of the truth. Several persons, a deputation, from the British Labour Party recently went to Ireland, and although there were some difficulties they got round and saw people and took evidence, and observed much that had been done, and why. In fact, some of them came near serious trouble themselves, while merely observing the horrible state of affairs before them.

Now this is a thing which affects every home—those with sons especially—and all homes eventually, because, as we are not getting things from Ireland like we did before it means high prices.

Will you come to a meeting at the Church Schools next Friday, January 21, at 7.0 p.m. and hear one of the men who has been in Ireland tell his experiences?

This is a national question more than a political question, so please come.

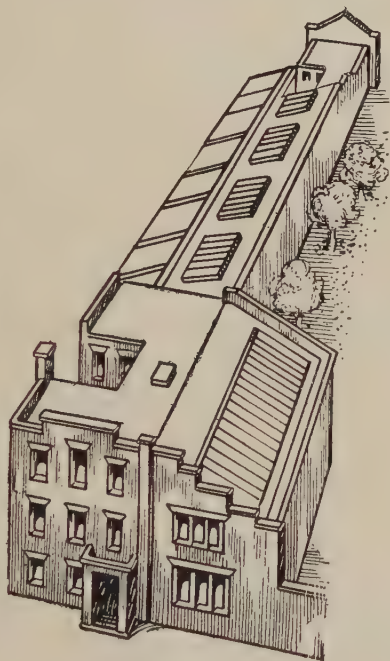
I have invited a good number and have made special arrangements for extra lighting, and the room being warm. Friday is also a good night; there is a full moon, and it will be pleasant out-of-doors.

If all the village comes, who say they are coming, it will be a bumping meeting. Anyway, it will be something to talk about afterwards and at least we shall know the truth.

Yours very sincerely,

A. GENT.

THE MOST COMPLETE
and UP-TO-DATE PRINT-
ING WORKS CONNECTED WITH
THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND
OPERATED BY THE KEENEST, MOST EFFICIENT,
AND ENTHUSIASTIC BAND OF EIGHTY LABOUR
WORKERS EVER ORGANISED UNDER ONE ROOF



CALEDONIAN PRESS LTD.
74 - SWINTON - STREET
GRAY'S INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.1

MANAGING DIRECTOR

W. FRANCIS MOSS

Telephone :
MUSEUM 1311

Telegrams : EDCALOPRES,
KINCROS, LONDON

“A DANGEROUS thing to use is this slang,” says a schoolmaster, meaning by slang such words as “stunt,” “one-er,” “stumer,” “twicer,” “swank,” and several others. We agree with him, not because these words have no classical godfathers, but because to no two persons do the words express quite the same meaning.

A “stunt” in the cinema world may convey the idea of an ambitious artist hanging by his eyelids to a telegraph wire; while a “stunt” to an advertising man is probably a new means of exploiting the “consumer” we hear so much of.

You may speak of one man as a “one-er,” and of another as a “twicer,” and we leave the reader to imagine what is meant by either term. We do know that a “twicer” in the printing trade is a man who can set type and also feed a machine, though presumably he cannot do both at the same time.

The hotel porter does not use the word “swank” in the same derisive sense as you might were you talking of your neighbour. “Swank” has been described as a crown without a head—a revolutionary fashion.

Another variety of “swank” is that characterising a deal of advertising matter. Good or informative advertising cannot be dismissed so easily. If a man has designed an article or service to fit a spécial need and he honestly believes it to be the “best yet,” then let him say so from the house-tops. A man, though he cannot attend a meeting, may read your advertising.

ersus “SWANK”

EACH MONTH IT IS
HOPE TO DROP
UNDER THIS
HEADING A FEW
THOUGHTS OF
VALUE

The L.C.C. Tramways and London Underground use informative advertising. Here is another form: When we describe ourselves as “The most complete and up-to-date printing works connected with the Labour Movement, and operated by the keenest, most efficient, and enthusiastic band of eighty workers ever organised under one roof,” we mean every word of the statement and believe it to be true. To doubters we say, “Come and see.” We ask you also to refer to “Two Opinions,” printed overleaf.

We are consciously proud of having achieved something unique and want *you* to know about it. If you advertise the first Labour Premier to speak at your meeting, well knowing he won't be there; if your orders to the Caledonian Press are not carried out—then are we both guilty of pretension and may well be termed “swankers.”

In good faith you plan your meeting; in good faith we promise satisfaction with your printing.

CALEDON.



You may have a “bye” at any time and want a poster, leaflet, poll-card, or address at short notice. Shake hands with us *now* by sending your current printing to the Caledonian Press Limited, 74 Swinton St., Gray's Inn Road, W.C. 1.

TWO OPINIONS

About our works :

By the Rt. Hon. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.

Dear Mr. Moss,

I have to thank you for the opportunity you gave me of seeing the works of the Caledonian Press. It was a real pleasure to me to visit the admirably organised establishment you have brought into existence at Swinton Street. It impressed me as a thoroughly up-to-date and well-planned printing works, a model of what a trade union establishment should be in regard to the arrangements made for the comfort and safety of the workpeople, and an example of high efficiency in methods of management. I cordially congratulate you and your colleagues upon the excellent works you have set up, and I think you have every reason to expect them to be an immediate commercial success.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR HENDERSON

About our work :

By Mr. EDWARD FULLER (Save the Children Fund)

Dear Sirs,

I should like to express special thanks for the very admirable way in which you produced for us the "Encyclical of the Pope on behalf of Suffering and Starving Children." Everybody here, as well as the authorities of the Catholic Church, are delighted with the way in which the work was carried out, while the promptness with which you submitted the proofs and delivered the complete order left nothing to be desired. I feel specially indebted to Mr. Moss and Mr. Carne for the personal interest which they took in the matter, and I am sure the whole of your staff is to be congratulated upon turning out such an excellent piece of work.

Yours faithfully,

EDWARD FULLER,

Press Secretary

CALEDONIAN PRESS LTD.

74 Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1

Telephone :
MUSEUM 1311

Telegrams : EDALOPRES,
KINCROS, LONDON

"WOLF!"

The General Election—the Prophets thereof, and the Preparation therefor

I frankly wish these prophets would take a rest. For four years scare has succeeded scare, and if we had any nerves at all they ought to be in a terrible state. Please count up the election scares we have had in the last three or four years. It seems to take an awful lot of scare to make one G.E.

And the prophets are at it again. Full pelt they come and the editor of the *Daily Tag* promptly orders out his headlines. Who pays these people? Is it Lloyd George? or the newspapers? or the naughty Bolshies? or is it the printing and paper trades where the wish might be father to the thought?

What is there so soul-shattering in the threat of a General Election? I've lived through a lot. Perhaps in the committee room one is sheltered from the risks (ask Neil McLean about that); but I have noticed no exceptional mortality among the candidates, though one could sometimes wish—but that is another story.

Now I want to put up the proposition that this scare of a General Election with every changing season is a bad thing for organisation. The man who interprets every scare as an order to clear for action will last out perhaps three scares, certainly no more. He may cry "wolf" afterwards as loudly as he likes. His Party takes no notice.

This article is written to encourage preparation for a General Election, but I simply do not believe there is any value in constantly scaring organisations into a belief that one is imminent. I advise the agent not to do it.

All organisation, all propaganda, all political work in the constituencies is, in the last analysis, preparation for an election. But though there is a distinction to be drawn between the routine work of a Party and definite and concrete plans or acts for the election; the work of preparation is so involved with the Party's own development that not till the final issue comes can one separate it. Try prematurely separating it and see the result!

It should be remembered that plans of preparation which are put into practice (and I shall deal with other plans presently) vary according to the anticipated interval there is to play

with. I sometimes speak of "long-distance preparation" signifying plans of party development, campaigns for individual members, education and training of workers, registration, collection of ward information, &c.; and of "short distance preparation," meaning things that can be done in that period prior to the dissolution of Parliament when every indication points to an issue. There is an intermediate period, or lots of them, but in the imminence of an election the preparation would include the calling, re-officering, and equipping of the Ward and Polling District Committees, definite ordering of certain supplies, if not already in, appointment of agent, the tentative booking of certain halls, final and definite decision as to fighting, finance (though this is a matter for every stage), &c., &c. Scare yourself into doing some of these things too early and see what happens!

The intermediate stage of preparation is one that is normal and recurring. It means "carrying on." Outside one keeps wards busy, training, registration, local elections, canvasses for workers. One calls 'pepper' when pepper pays, and keeps up an even pressure at other times. Speaking campaigns are run. Literature distribution made—or where money allows a Party poster campaign undertaken. The internal work consists of getting the writing done, if funds are available, keeping registers and records marked, preparing books, requisites, &c.

Where the work indicated is proceeding, the agent should take little notice of a scare except to take advantage of the increased interest in politics by rushing in a few more meetings and a little more literature. A carefully worded personal duplicated letter on the crisis is not an election expense if *bona-fide* a Party communication, and where funds allow is worth trying. But in my opinion absolutely nothing is gained by trying to kick off before the whistle blows.

BUT—have your plan ready! Am I asked to give one here? Next month I will indicate a few matters that are to be thought of. No man, however, can lay a plan to-day that would be suitable in every detail three months hence. Political changes, kaleidoscope-like, happen always, and the change in a day's situation may vastly affect

the plan or the direction of the campaign. So, too, do changing prices, new buildings, results of local elections, and scores of other things. But still the making of a plan from time to time is essential to most men, and is first-rate training for the beginner; indeed, the young agent learns more from his first few futile plans than he can acquire in any other way.

The best way to learn to plan an election is to sit down and write an essay on what you would do *now* if a General Election were announced to-morrow. Don't alter a single circumstance, take things just as they are, in debt, divided, no candidate, prosperous, local elections on—whatever the circumstances are *now*, write the essay; and if you can't write an essay put down, one after the other, the things you *would* do, and arrange them rightly afterwards.

The first result of the above experiment will be a shudder down the back. That will do you good, if you are wise and determine to remedy the defects you now notice for the first time.

Most men will write and rewrite their first attempt at a plan several times before consulting others upon it. But it is advisable to keep the greater part of a plan to oneself. After a week or two reconsider your plan in the light of the then circumstances. Some changes will seem inevitable. Examine the plan again some time later, and again amend, and if this suggestion is constantly carried out and plans recast occasionally as circumstances dictate, the weariness and fag of it will have been found worth all the trouble. Have you thought out your plan?

CORRESPONDENCE

Unemployment

To the Editor of the LABOUR ORGANISER.

Sir,—In many districts great discontent seems to be caused by arrangement of centres for registration at Unemployment Exchanges causing much inconvenience by long distances from the homes of unemployed persons. In one case the local Trades Council reporting this to the authorities were informed that district rooms could not be provided by the Superintendent of the Unemployment Exchange, and if

suitable rooms could be had he might provide staff for same. The Trades Council next approached the local Co-op. Society and this resulted in provision of satisfactory rooms at a very nominal rent, which was paid by the Trades Council. The little effort was well re-paid by a great saving of time and trouble to unemployed men and women, who in turn greatly appreciated the great service rendered to them by this Trades Council and Labour Party. I imagine this information might prove helpful to our agents, I therefore pass it on for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,

SAM. HAGUE.

Gorton United Trades and Labour Council,
3 Hyde Road, Gorton.

A Labour Press

To the Editor of the LABOUR ORGANISER

Sir,—The editor has done well to draw the attention of the movement to the necessity of a Labour Press. But the urgency of the need must not blind us to the almost insuperable difficulties that have to be overcome if such a press is to be firmly established. The ground must be thoroughly explored and plans well laid before any scheme is launched.

That is where the existing local Labour Press has failed. The papers were issued before the problems of production, cost, and distribution had been thought out. The ardent spirits who were responsible for the ventures trusted to the enthusiasm of the movement to carry them through to success. That faith would, I believe, have been justified if the journals had been of the right type. But alas! Labour journals, national and local—with two brilliant exceptions which I need not name—are stodgy and dull to the point of boredom, and they are bought in many cases only from a sense of loyalty. Whether they are read is at least problematical.

They certainly do not reach the great mass of the people whom we desire to permeate with Labour opinion.

The failure to do so is partly due to loose methods of distribution, and partly to the price, but mainly, I think, to the fact that they make no appeal to those who are outside the movement. To the man in the street politics is not

an absorbing interest and he is repelled by a paper which is propagandist if not doctrinaire in every sentence. The capitalist Press gets its politics home by a process of slow permeation. Labour must do the same.

A newspaper, moreover, ought to supply news and that is what Labour editors, hampered as they are by lack of staff and financial stringency, are not able to do.

Could our papers be made of more general interest I am confident the circulation would come and with it the influence.

Personally I do not favour the inclusion in a local paper of an esoteric mass of stereotyped matter. But at the present stage of development it is perhaps inevitable. If so it should be interesting and bright, and wider in its appeal than such matter generally it. By the cognoscenti a disquisition on the Second or Third International is no doubt appreciated, but it is caviare to the general.

If syndicated stuff is unavoidable let it be done by men with a flair for popular journalism like, say, Mr. Tom Johnstone, of the *Forward*, who has by his vivacity and scintillating wit made his paper a perennial delight as well as a powerful force.

But necessary improvement and expansion are contingent on local Labour papers being put on a sound business basis. They must in the first stages be subsidised, and I suggest that the money which is scattered about by the movement in delegations of doubtful value and in other ways might be more profitably used to establish weekly papers in the constituencies.

Another point should be insisted on. Labour papers ought to be distributed not haphazardly as at present but through the ordinary trade channels. It would be good business to do so as well as good trade unionism.

Given proper equipment and efficient staffs, I believe local Labour weeklies would succeed and be of incalculable service in the creation of public opinion.

Yours, &c.,
Leicester. WILLIAM HOWARD.

The man who tries to succeed must expect to be criticised. Nothing important was ever done but the greater number consulted previously doubted the possibility. Success is the accomplishment of that which most people think can't be done.—C. V. White.

The Propagandist with the ——— Punch

Councillor Jessie Stephen
(Domestic Workers' Union)

is now booking dates. A day or a week equally acceptable. February already fully booked. Subjects which appeal to the man and woman in the street and make new members.

Book Her Quick!

Terms on application to:—

103a ALSHOT ROAD, BERMONDSEY, LONDON, S.E. 1

DISTRICT COUNCIL ELECTIONS (Continued)

Getting Going

During the ensuing month the contests for the Urban and Rural District Council elections will take a definite shape and the campaign must henceforth be conducted on well-defined lines. Announcements will be made of the candidates' names if not previously done, and plans for the actual election will be undertaken.

It is almost useless to attempt to lay down any general plan, for circumstances differ more in these elections than in any other series of elections to local governing bodies; so do the resources and finance of the parties undertaking them. But in any case, the financial arrangements, as indicated last month, ought to be thought of first, and plans shaped accordingly. It is not wise to enter on contests with this thing left to haphazard chances, and consequently without any decided schemes of electioneering being possible.

If a campaign for workers has been undertaken it will in most districts be possible to perform some kind of canvass. A canvass *ought* to be done whenever possible, but it should not be undertaken too soon, nor too late. I attach more importance to a good publicity campaign followed by a canvass a fortnight before the elections, than to spasmodic efforts at canvassing spread over a longer period. Your publicity campaign in these council elections is necessarily limited by financial considerations and the possibilities of subjects, but you *can* get discussions in Labour organisations, resolutions, letters to the Press concerning Labour policy and the candidates, or opposing the other side where opportunity offers. Your men already on the Council can in some cases furnish you with material, and very often they can bring to an issue on the Councils matter of rare propaganda value.

It is a peculiarity of Labour policy that its general principles can be applied to almost any question even of a purely local character, and the result is a clear cut and distinctive course. Try this on the issues before your district, and at all times endeavour to emphasise that Labour policy stands by itself, that between Labour candidates

and all others is a cleavage on principles that cannot be bridged, and follow that up by showing the connection between its application locally and the policies it advocates nationally. You should not fall into the error of fighting local elections on entirely national questions, but it is impossible to entirely shut out some reference to them when advocating a Party which is the only one having a connected policy for all phases of elective government. Further, the prestige of the Great Labour Party is an asset in local electioneering, and in these elections you may safely make use of its power and its reputation, and seek favour in many people's eyes because of your local Party's association with it. For that is just what occurs, and there are many local voters whose observations of the Labour Party have been at a distance, and who will make their first experiment in Labour voting at a local election.

Now I am a great believer in a war cry. Get one if you can. I know a place where eight candidates are being run. They will revive the old cry

"WE WANT EIGHT,"

and at every opportunity they will rub in those eight names and that phrase; and I think that "damnable reiteration" (as somebody once called it) will go a long way to help them get it, especially if they keep well in front the eight they mean.

There is much more in this thing than appears. At the General Election I christened the campaign I ran "The Quick-trick-no-time-to-think-election," and we played a good deal on the trickery of the 1918 election in that campaign. We especially directed our complaints to the soldier vote, and we were one of the few constituencies that polled a majority of their votes. The phrase had attracted attention to our literature and arguments. So, too, in the Widnes election, with nine days to fight in, we christened it first "The Lightning Election," amending it afterwards to "The Henderson Election," so suggesting there was only our leader in it. It paid.

If this is your first attack, advertise it as that, boom your object, let the world—or that much of it contained in the Mudsome District Council area—know Labour is out wanting to govern. If you are beaten back you will have at least gained some ground,

*Your Paper and
Envelope Supplies*

Phone:
3839 Nottingham
Telegrams:
Papyrus, Nottingham

AN OFFER direct from
the Source to the Agent
or Organisation

Cullen, Carver & Wilshaw,
Paper Merchants Ltd.

HOOTON STREET, NOTTINGHAM

Offer you at lowest prices all
you require in DUPLICATING
PAPERS, BANK PAPERS,
ENVELOPES, POST
CARDS, or any kind of Paper

SEND THIS DAY
FOR
PRICES AND SAMPLES

CO-OPERATIVE BUYING.
WE WILL SPECIALLY CATER
FOR DISTRICT SUPPLIES
COLLECTIVELY ORDERED

Quick Attention—Prompt Deliveries

and in your next big push will gain some more, or win. This course is better than sneaking round the opponents' back doors with two or three doubtful apostles you may think are respectable enough to get in "by arrangement."

This publicity question is greatly important. You really must use every possible chance of getting the names of your men before the public. This is vital where the names may be lost in a host of others. No bill of any kind should be published without your candidates' names. If you order Labour Party leaflets, send them at once to the printer, and print boldly across them in red "This leaflet is issued on behalf of the Labour candidates, Jones, Brown, and Robinson," or "Jones, Brown, and Robinson want you at their meeting, Friday, at 7 o'clock—Parish Schools—room warmed." So also on your posters, if you issue any. But forget you ever saw a poster (or a tombstone) and don't jumble the names up, as per usual. Consult your printer about this and suggest to him that a suitable panel on the poster might be used for the candidates' names.

The time has now come when rooms should be considered. In this connection always think of the value in advertisement that your rooms may return you, and don't turn down prominence because it's a little dearer.

Regarding meetings, I am very dubious about the usual policy of doing nothing till a meeting has been held. Indeed, I am sick of that cry, "meetin's, meetin's, meetin's." First *create a demand* for the candidates to be heard by the visitations I have urged, and when you hold a meeting put some ginger into its organisation, or it is better to leave it alone. One meeting may be necessary, and that one may be made to justify others, but the customary procedure of holding a meeting "to start the ball" before any interest is aroused is, in the result, often sufficient to kill even the interest of those who organised it.

The election address is another of those conventions which our grandfathers deemed essential at election times. A man may have addressed meetings *ad libitum*, *ad nauseum*, till he has nothing more really to say, yet he *must*, to be orthodox, invoice his

goods so to speak in an election address. I don't like these invoices, or the catalogues either which some of them are. Were I a candidate I would boldly say no such conventions for me. But electors should know my views. They would get them, not in the stilted phraseology of that printer's prize, the address, but in a series of semi-personal letter-talks such as the up-to-date business man uses for his customers.

But these are district council elections. Take your choice. If you issue an address instead of a letter it is best and cheapest to issue a joint address, or it may be localised and given a personal touch as circumstances dictate. But please observe that nobody flies off at a tangent and advocates a crank of his own, to the possible discomfiture of his colleagues.

But this discussion now stands adjourned.

(To be continued.)

OUR AGENTS AT HOME

Mr. H. Stephens, of King's Lynn

King's Lynn is one of those places that seem a long way from anywhere. There are lots of such places, and it is a singular delight to go down to them and discover, after all that the Lamp of Labour shines as brightly, even more brightly sometimes, in remote parts than it does in more visited and lively areas. King's Lynn Labour is not asleep, nor is the town for that. It once beat Father Time to a frazzle. I remember dispatching a telegram from King's Lynn G.P.O. I discovered afterwards that my wire had crossed England and was received at the P.O. the other end exactly three minutes before it was dispatched! I hold that telegram as a curiosity, and assuredly if Stephens can get his movement to live up to the town's telegraphic record he should be miles in front on polling day.

The Labour candidate for King's Lynn Division is R. B. Walker, of the A.L.U., and the power of the farm labourer is writ large upon the landscape for scores of miles whichever way one approaches the constituency. To the Westerner, accustomed to hills and woods and the enchanting diversity

of an ever-changing landscape there is something despairing at first in the broad flats, the straight ditches, and the boundless acreage of Eastern England. One looks involuntarily for a hill from which to get a view, bounded though it be by yet another hill, and with only the mysterious valley in between. One casts about hungrily for the small pastures or a glimpse of some tree-hidden mansion. But it is not there. Everywhere instead is the evidence of a great primal industry—the land. There's an awful lot of land in the Eastern Counties. It is land, land, land, acres of it, hundreds of acres of it, miles of it—land, land, land. One feels caught in some mighty grip and presently—perhaps because there is a strain of harshness somewhere in one's economic creed—the spirit responds. Interest is roused. One begins to calculate the power and influence latent in those ploughed perspectives. One views the lengths of the land and imagines the recurring power at work—man, always man. One takes the square of it and the result is the same—man, always man. The labourer is the power over there. Throughout the length of it, in the breadth of it, in the square of it, that grip one feels is after all the hold of the mighty, slow moving but sure, agricultural industry. And to-day the expression of it is no longer left to the landed proprietor, or even to the strident voice of the farmer; the agricultural labourer feels and knows his power. And the miles and miles of land cheer one after all, for it is Labour voters who are turning that mighty and endless soil.

But after that breath of the country (and who doesn't love it?) let us get back to King's Lynn, that ancient borough of proud lineage. Marshland and Docking, and Wiggenhall St. Germans, Wiggenhall St. Mary the Virgin (and W. St. Mary Magdalene, and W. St. Peter, and sundry other Saints), all these places, and several others that go to make up the constituency, we must leave to their eastern winds in eight months of the year and beating sun of the other four. I only wonder in passing how in a country all alike they manage to get any boundaries. A row of potatoes would seem a poor defence in separating Peter from Mary. I will ascertain

this on my next visit. But now to the agent at home.

Mr. H. Stephens is an agent who believes in system, who has a system and follows it up. He is an agent who believes that something more is necessary than a knowledge of Labour politics, or even of election law. He has studied the arts which are incidental to the qualifications of a front-rank organiser. He is an advertising expert, he has studied and applied office efficiency and system, modern methods and reference and time-saving devices; he understands typography, and in the lesser arts that are associated with the latter thing he has also made good, and shines. In short, Stephens knows that the agent should not be to the candidate a sort of Elisha to Elijah, and that to usurp the candidate's functions is to neglect one's own. He realises that the agent is the *business* man, the man to *organise* propaganda, and to direct it successfully, efficiently, and to secure the maximum advantage from it, rather than to attempt to carry this burden on his own back. This is a lesson well worth knowing, for the other thing is a common failing.

Stephens is an efficiency monger, and like all who are striving to better the party machinery in this direction, he is serving more than his party, for when Labour governs we shall be sadly left if we are to manage the affairs of State as some parties manage their own business! To be an efficiency monger is not to possess a swelled head—commend me to the super-educated stuffed-Labour-economist, with all wind and no driving parts, for that! The King's Lynn agent, like most efficient men, is quiet. Yet when his party speaks through Stephens' literature, no gramophone shouter ever hits harder, gets a wider audience, or scores more points. It is efficiency in the advertising art that is then telling. So, too, when a quick move is wanted, and rapidity of manœuvre is required, and the Party is wanted to turn out in full force. Then there is no confusion, a quietly efficient man turns to his tools, the levers are pulled, and the machine moves. It is Method—making good.

Mr. Stephens' office is both a delight and an envy. Not the heavy old-style knee-hole desk is here with its wings resting on the floor, but the modern

legged and castored variety that permits of cleanliness beneath. There is a fine vertical filing cabinet and proper card indexing accommodation which bears evidence of accustomed and efficient use. Did I say "envy"? I won't enumerate any more, because this is not an auctioneer's catalogue—but that office spells "modernity." On the bookshelves I spotted many a volume on the subjects I have been enumerating, which are altogether strangers to ordinary Labour bookshelves. But they were good—I borrowed two. I also noted *The British Printer* was taken in, and its American and even better contemporary, *System* and similar publications were there. But there was also prominent most of the Labour classics, and the literature of the great writers one browses on in quiet moments. The "efficiency" man is not necessarily the pushing bounder of great parade; he may be an idealist and a dreamer in his off moments. I don't know about Stephens; I have not seen him at those times. But his literature is good.

King's Lynn Labour Party, through its agent, is leading well in the effectiveness of its literature. Some of the best samples I possess come from there. So, too, of ideas in other respects. Some of its financial successes have been mentioned in the LABOUR ORGANISER. I could wish King's Lynn was more reasonably placed upon the map and that the old Duke's Head Hotel, with its ancient stairways, and crevices, and wainscotting, could know me oftener. I learn when I go there, and—well, I'm young enough to do that!

THE EDITOR.

LONDON LABOUR AND THE CO-OP.

A Joint "Headquarters" Scheme

The London Co-op. Society, the London Trades Council, and the London Labour Party have had simmering for some time a scheme for London headquarters for the joint movements. The proposals have now reached a definite stage at which they can be placed before Labour bodies and individuals with a view to subscription of capital. The London Co-operative Society, the largest in the country,

have themselves set aside £10,000 as a beginning towards the capital required and the prospectus and offer of investment has been issued in their name, though, of course, the appeal is jointly made. Subscribers instead of being asked to invest in a speculative venture are offered loan capital in the Co-operative Society itself, bearing five per cent. interest, and most convenient terms for withdrawal, if desired.

The scheme is one calling for immediate and adequate support. Unions may invest as well as individuals, and have a good deal to gain from the successful carrying through of the proposition.

In addition to providing the considerable office accommodation required by the three bodies named, it is suggested that when the site is secured and the scheme complete it might include a central library, statistical and information bureau, a centralised office equipment for the smaller organisations, club rooms, board rooms for E.C. meetings, ordinary meeting rooms, and large and medium-sized halls. A later development, it is suggested, might be a club with hotel accommodation.

The point to be realised is that this scheme is not "in the air." This thing is coming off, and there are business men and brains behind it. It is well-backed, and solidly backed too. Our London readers should push this scheme "all out," and help secure for the metropolis that central democratic home the need for which is so bad a blot upon our capacity to do things.

ASSOCIATION NEWS

Recent appointments not previously announced in the LABOUR ORGANISER have been: Mr. W. Miles (late of State Bonus League), East Islington; Mr. F. Gould, Frome Division; and Mr. J. Coutts, Jarrow, the announcement of whose appointment was unfortunately overlooked in our earlier issues.

Mr. C. W. Wilkinson, who for some time has been acting as part-time agent in South Hants, has now taken a full-time appointment in the same division. Mr. R. A. Watson, lately agent in North Norfolk, has trans-

ferred to the South Division of the same county.

Mr. R. Windle, of Walthamstow, has been appointed National District Organiser for London. Congratulations and good wishes.

Mr. W. Hargreaves has now taken on his duties in the Gainsborough Division (Lincs.). His departure from Gloucester was made the occasion for the presentation of a handsome rose-wood clock suitably inscribed.

Seven meetings of agents have been held in various areas during the past month. Practically all these have been productive of real benefit, but something more elaborate in the way of a syllabus for each district might be attempted. A mistake is made if meetings are held too frequently, but when held members should not be allowed to depart feeling that much time has gone with little result. Members cannot afford to attend unless *practical benefit* is derived, and this point might well be discussed at next meeting.

A HINT TO YORKSHIREMEN

In its issue of February 5 the *Yorkshire Telegraph and Star* devotes a leader to telling us, anent the Education Act, that "at the *present* time we are expending vast sums in attempting to make silk purses out of sows' ears." Modesty, one supposes, prevents the leader writer from citing his own case as a curious confirmation of his theory; it is a pity that after all the public money we spend on educating editors the result should be so depressing. There is a hoggish atmosphere sometimes about editorial offices; I have actually heard the sanctum referred to as the "hog-pen." That may explain the sort of creatures who write therein, but it will hardly satisfy Yorkshire mothers who hear of the delicate reference to themselves and their children. I advise Yorkshire agents and secretaries to give the *Telegraph's* opinion wider circulation than it is likely to get by its own gutter sales. They don't always say so plainly what they mean.

Crown 8vo.

Cloth.

5s. net.

Post Free 5s. 3d.

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS

By

J. RENWICK SEAGER, C.B.E.

Author of "Notes on Registration," &c., &c.

A PRACTICAL HANDBOOK FOR POLITICAL AGENTS

Chap. I.—QUALIFICATIONS.

Chap. II.—DISQUALIFICATIONS.

Chap. III.—REGISTRATION.

Forms, Sections of the Reform Act, and full Index.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

UNDER THE REFORM ACT, 1918

By

J. RENWICK SEAGER, C.B.E.

Author of "Registration of Voters under the Reform Act, 1918"; "Notes on Registration," &c., &c.

A PRACTICAL HANDBOOK FOR POLITICAL AGENTS

Chap. I.—CANDIDATES.

Chap. II.—RETURNING OFFICERS.

Chap. III.—THE ELECTION AGENT AND SUB-AGENT

Chap. IV.—THE ELECTION.

Chap. V.—ELECTION EXPENSES.

Sections of Acts relating to Elections, Regulations dealing with Absent Voters, &c., and full Index.

London—P. S. KING & SON, Limited

2 and 4 Great Smith Street, Westminster.

THE LABOUR ORGANISER

*A Monthly Technical
Journal devoted to the
organisation of Labour*

Subscription Rates

Per copy 4d. Post Free 4½d.

Quarterly - - 1/1½

Half-yearly - - 2/3

Yearly - - - 4/6

REMITTANCE WITH ORDER

WHOLESALE TERMS
ON COPIES ORDERED
FOR RE-SALE

*Advertisement Rates
sent on application*

Contributions on subjects suitable for this journal are invited, and should be sent to H. DRINKWATER, Editor, Whittington, near Worcester.

PREPAID ADVERTISEMENTS

Advertisements under this heading are inserted at the special rate of twenty-four words for 28., and 6d. for each additional six words, or less. Cash must accompany order. Three insertions are charged at the rate of two-and-a-half. Displayed advertisements, prepaid, are charged 4s. per inch, with special discount for a series.

Advertisers in London area should send to the sole London Advertisement Agent, Mr. F. J. Hubbard, 57 Upper Grange Road, Bermondsey, S.E. 1.

Country orders should be addressed, The Editor, LABOUR ORGANISER, Whittington, near Worcester.

POLITICAL or Social Work. Whole or part-time services offered as agent or organiser. Would assist regular agent, or work unorganised constituency. Accept small salary to increase experience.—Woolger, Bookseller, Shanklin.

DUPLICATORS, Duplicators! Neo-Cyclostyle Duplicators (Gestetner's Patent), and others. Special arrangements have been made for 7½ per cent. discount to Labour agents and secretaries.—Full particulars, Editor, LABOUR ORGANISER.

TO LABOUR CLUBS.—Vacuum Carpet Cleaner, powerful draught; nearly new; cost £4 4s.; barely used. What offers?—Apply, M., c/o LABOUR ORGANISER, Whittington, near Worcester.

"WOODINGS" Conduct and Management of Elections"; Dills' "Guardians' and District Councillors' Election Manual"; both out of print; two copies of each wanted; state price; Owen, c/o Editor, LABOUR ORGANISER, Whittington, near Worcester.

The Councillor is the title of a little quarterly journal published by the London Labour Party for the use of London Labour councillors, candidates, &c. It is attractively printed and contains within its small compass a deal of useful matter on London Local Government.